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# THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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OF MICHIGAN

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PERIODICAL  
READING ROOM

## CROSS-CULTURAL FACTORS IN EDUCATION OF UNDERDEVELOPED REGIONS

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# THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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## PREFACE

The editors of the *Journal of Educational Sociology* are indeed grateful to Mr. J. F. McDougall of UNESCO for his assistance in making this number possible. The distinguished scholars whose studies are presented are representative of the work that is going forward in education in many sections of the world. The dynamic role of education in "closing the gap" between technologically advanced cultures and the less developed is an exciting one to follow. It is inevitable that this type of interpenetration and fusion of cultures should present resistances to change and threats to cultural integrity of many groups.

It helps considerably in dealing with the philosophical issues, such as those raised by Mr. Hans at the conclusion of his article, to realize that the interaction of ideas is not a "one-way street." As one reads the materials, he is impressed that much of what is written concerning the limitations of education here described could as easily be applied in the most sophisticated of the so called "western civilization" nations.

Another observation relates to perspective. With a great amount of controversy over political issues, coupled as it inevitably must be, with widespread publicity, one gains the impression that there is very little which is positive being achieved in eradicating the burdensome ills of mankind. Here, however, is illustrated through these articles the fact that, beneath the turbulence of the surface waves of bickering and conflict, moves a steady current of positive, constructive program; that patiently and sympathetically, some of the most advanced knowledge we have about man is being systematically marshalled to enrich the lives of us all.

DAN W. DODSON

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## EXPORTATION OF EDUCATIONAL IDEAS

N. Hans

Whether transfer of educational theory and practice from one country to another will lead to successful results cannot be determined by *a priori* arguments based on a philosophy or religion. It is not connected with the relativist disbelief in absolute values and is not the variation of the Russian proverb: "What is healthy for a German is deadly for a Russian." Absolute values in education can be universally agreed upon and can even be expressed adequately by definitions in many languages. What is questionable is whether this absolute ideal worked out in one country in its particular historical setting can be transferred to another country with a different background with the same beneficial results. In case of material basis of education like buildings, playing fields, shower baths, or even pencils, paper, and ink, it depends on the financial resources of the country, its local material available for such appliances and its system of transport. Obviously, school buildings adapted to a tropical region of Africa are unsuitable in Norway, and the central heating of American schools is unnecessary in a hot climate. It is so obvious that no school reformer ever suggested such a transfer without adaptation to local conditions. Strangely enough when the transfer involves religious or moral ideas, methods of instruction or administration and organization of schools, many educators unhesitatingly assume that the traditions and practice of their countries have a universal application and can be transferred *in toto*. Perhaps some historical examples will help to elucidate the problem.

At one time the introduction of a universal artificial language like medieval Latin or modern Esperanto was very popular and was considered a kind of panacea to cure all the ills of humanity. Now educators agree that at least primary education must be imparted in the mother tongue and foreign languages can be used only on higher levels. The question has shifted to the use of uniform alphabet and Latin script is advocated for universal use. Both the Turks of Anatolia and the Turkish-speaking nationalities of the Soviet Union abandoned Arabic script and imposed Latin by compulsory legislation. In Turkey the reform was successful and evidently is final, but in Soviet Russia, for many reasons, the Latin script was found to be unsuitable and all Turkish groups changed it for the Russian (Cyrillic) script. At one time, the Chinese Communists also advocated the adoption of the Latin alphabet but later came to the conclusion that a phonetic script like Latin is unsuitable for Chinese, which is an



isolating root language and have retained their logographs with slight modifications.

Even these examples of a transfer of one educational feature do not give a uniform answer to our problem. It depends on many factors, some of general and some of local importance. Much more complex is the problem of transfer when it involves the whole educational system, administration, organization, curriculum and methods of instruction. An example of such a total transfer is supplied by the Austrian system which Maria Theresa transplanted to Russia by Catherine the Great. Before dealing with the transfer, we should describe the situation in the Habsburg Empire during the reign of Maria Theresa in the 18th Century.

The Habsburg domains formed a multi-lingual and multi-national monarchy including Germans, Hungarians, Slavs, Italians, Rumanians and French-speaking Walloons. In religion, although the overwhelming majority were Catholics, the monarchy included large enclaves of Protestants (Lutherans, Calvinists and Unitarians) and Eastern Orthodox Christians. In those circumstances, it seemed unwise to impose uniform legislation with centralized administration in Vienna. Yet the secular public system introduced by Maria Theresa, after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in all her lands on a uniform pattern, was highly successful and survived even the disappearance of the Austria-Hungarian Empire and the foundation of national secession states. The following factors contributed to the outstanding success of this reform: There was general discontent with the old Church school system, shared by all nationalities of the Empire. The direction and implementation of the reform was in the hands of freemasons, who were international and in Austria-Hungary included Germans, Hungarians, Slavs, Italians and Belgians. Although the administration, school-organization, curriculum and even text-books were uniform for all lands, the language of instruction was the "*Muttersprache*" of each nationality. The Protestants and orthodox Christians were given a certain amount of self-government. Thus national languages were respected and religious traditions were not interfered with. But when Joseph II after the death of his mother, attempted to even up all these differences and to introduce an identical school-system based on the German language and total secularisation, he endangered the success of the reform and was faced with general revolt of the churches and all non-German nationalities. The result was the loss of Belgium and part of Italian lands and Joseph on his death-bed, had to annul his levelling legislation and restore the system of Maria Theresa.

During the late 18th Century, the administration was decentral-

ized, and, although the main features of the school system remained uniform throughout the Empire, each land introduced modifications suitable for local conditions. The law of 6th December 1774 introduced a universal school system for both sexes. Each village had to maintain its elementary school with the aid of land owners. Each district had to have at least one intermediate school (*Hauptschule*) with four teachers. The curriculum included arts and crafts, geography and history, elementary Latin, drawing, land surveying, economy and agriculture (mathematics and national language had been started already in the elementary school). Whenever possible, separate schools for girls were established with additional instruction in 'feminine crafts.' In other cases, girls attended the same schools as boys. In the capital of every province, a secondary school (*Normalschule*) had to be founded which, in addition to all subjects of the '*Hauptschule*' on a higher level, included pedagogical subjects necessary for future teachers. Religion was taught by the members of the clerical profession (*Katecheten*) who were trained in State Normal schools, passed a State examination and were appointed by public authorities (not by the Church). The *Haupt* and *Normal-schulen* were maintained by the State. The whole system was administered and supervised by State authorities. Latin Gymnasias and Universities were outside the system but were also State institutions. All the text-books were prepared and published by State authorities.

This was the Austrian system which was transferred into Russia by Catherine II. When she decided to found a national State system in Russia, she, at first, invited Diderot and Grimm to come to Russia to direct the reform. As is well known, Diderot went and wrote his famous plan of a secular public system. Grimm refused the invitation but advised Catherine to adopt the Austrian legislation which was so successful in Habsburg lands. Catherine accepted the advice, invited the Director of Serbian orthodox schools of Austria, Yankovich and entrusted him with the task of adopting the Austrian school system to Russian conditions. Yankovich transferred the whole system with few inevitable modifications: the same organization of schools on three levels, the same curriculum, the same methods, the same system of teachers' training and the same monopoly of text-books. Girls and boys were taught in the same schools. Separate schools for girls were the exception. This was one important modification of the Austrian model.

At first, Catherine introduced an undenominational Christian catechism into all schools, whether private or public. But when the Protestant pastors insisted on the Lutheran catechism, Catherine allowed the Protestant schools to use the Lutheran catechism, side by side

with the State text-book. The Catholic schools in Polish-speaking areas were allowed the use of Polish language as the medium of instruction and the Catholic catechism. Administration and finance of the whole system was similar to the Austrian model.

On the whole, the transfer was successful and took roots in Russian soil. It was later modified by Alexander I under the influence of the French republican legislation, but the main features of the Austrian system survived all the changes in the Russian educational policy and can be recognized in the present Soviet school system.

What were the causes of this successful transplantation of the whole system from one country to another? Firstly, the social and economic conditions of the two Empires were similar. Secondly, both systems were introduced and controlled by freemasons, who in the 18th Century were an international organization sharing the same ideals and in close personal contact with each other. Thirdly, the legislation of Maria Theresa was flexible and permitted adaptations to national and religious traditions. Fourthly, it was built on rationalist lines which took the psychology of children and the economic needs of the population into consideration. These features of the Austrian legislation made it applicable to any country of Europe where Christian and Greco-Roman traditions were common to all. It is doubtful whether the same measure of success would have accompanied the transplantation of the Austrian system to a Moslem or a Buddhist country. Within the borders of European civilization, we can cite other examples of successful transfers from one country to another, but the problem is qualitatively different and far more complex when the transfer is attempted from a European country to an Asian or African community. As an example, let us discuss the transfer of the French school system to Persia (Iran).

The French system developed from the legislation of Napoleon who synthesised the two traditions of France: the liberal Catholic inherited from the past, and the more recent legislation of the Convention based on the ideas of the '*philosophes*' of the 18th Century. The synthesis was possible because both traditions were French, both shared the logical method of Descartes and classical French literature. In spite of occasional bitter opposition, both the French Catholics and the anti-clerical secularists receive a similar education, pass identical examinations and share the same way of life. The highly centralized administration and structure of the school system is common to Catholic and secular traditions alike and the compulsory imposition of the French language on non-French-speaking minorities like the Basques, Bretons and Alsations, is wholeheartedly supported by all, including the minorities themselves. New trends and methods

were already in evidence in the time of Richelieu and among educational pioneers, we meet both liberal Catholics and adherents of secular public schools. Thus, the French educational system is a product of national culture and traditions adapted to modern needs. The transfer of such a school system could be successful solely in a country which had a similar past and similar socio-economic structure.

When the Persian Shahs and their advisers decided on the Westernization of Iran, they selected France as a model for the following reasons. First, the French system could easily be copied because it is planned and imposed from above. Secondly, because the first Western higher institution, the 'Darolfonum' (University), founded in 1848, used French as medium of instruction and the Iranian élite knew French. The third reason, as an Iranian author expressed it, was "an affinity of outlook between France and Iran" and especially the duality of cultural tradition, i.e., religious and anti-clerical-secular.

Analysing these reasons for imitating France, we come to the conclusion that they are not valid for such transplantation. The choice of the French language for use in the 'Darolfonum' was largely dictated by political considerations. The Persian Government in its desire to maintain its independence from her two powerful neighbors, objected to the use either of Russian or English languages. As most of the professors of the 'Darolfonum' were Western Europeans (mostly German-speaking) French was considered to be the wisest choice. As to the third reason, the duality of cultural tradition is only superficial.

In France, as we have seen, the two traditions, Catholic and anti-clerical, have more in common than in opposition. In Iran today, the old Islamic way of life and the new Westernized outlook are totally different and, in addition, are territorially segregated: the rural population is traditionally Moslem, whilst the urban intelligentsia is anti-clerical and Westernized. Whereas, in France, a national synthesis was possible, in Iran neither a synthesis, nor even a temporary compromise is possible. It must be a victory of one or the other. Hence, the transplantation of the outward structure of the French system, its school organization, its centralized administration, its *école laïque* and its system of examinations, could hardly succeed.

The Government succeeded only in Teheran and a few provincial cities; the bulk of the population is not affected by new schools and, for the peasantry and nomadic tribes, Islam is still the measure of all things. Even in the urban centres after the deposition of Riza Shah during the war, there was a clerical reaction which led to the re-introduction of religious instruction into public schools and the resumption of the 'veil' by many women.

The problem of recruitment of teachers, particularly women, for new schools is specially difficult. The new modern *Écoles Normales* train teachers in western methods who are unsuitable for rural schools. They wait for the first opportunity to be transferred to urban centres. The peasantry looks upon them as foreign heretics and boycott the public schools by sending their children, particularly girls, to the old-fashioned Moslem 'maktabs'. The appointment of women teachers to village communities is practically impossible.

The Islamic 'Maktabs' are adapted to rural life and are accepted by the peasantry, but they tend to be medieval in methods and outlook. New schools are modern and have trained secular teachers, but they are boycotted by the peasantry. The Government puts all possible obstacles to the existence of the 'Maktabs' without openly prohibiting them, but is unable to supplant them by modern schools owing to the dearth financial resources, shortage of teachers, and total lack of understanding between the villagers and the newly-trained teachers.

It is quite obvious to impartial observers that the introduction of new schools modelled on European examples without changing the social-economic customs of the rural population is futile. The whole way of life, family, economy, methods of agriculture, old superstitions, Koranic law, everything has got to be changed before new schools become effective. But that means far more than the transfer of a school system. Total Westernisation raises the question: can the Persians retain their own original culture, literature and art of great historical value in the face of such a radical change? The future will give the answer.

Another most instructive example is provided by India and Pakistan. The history of Indian education is well known. Britain transplanted the English system, English ideas and even the English language to her Empire in India. A large number of schools and universities were created under English guidance. A new all-Indian intelligentsia, English-speaking, has been trained. But whether this transplantation has been a success or a failure both the English and Indians hesitate to answer.

From one point of view it has been a success because it resulted in integrating many Indian communities, different in religious traditions and speaking many languages, into one nation which eventually became an independent sovereign country. On the other hand, the policy of integration could not prevent the division of the Indian Empire into two states of India proper and Pakistan. Again, the Indian intellectual leaders absorbed English liberal philosophy and



the ways of political democracy, but the Indian peasant masses were left illiterate and untouched by the English influence.

Since independence, both the Indians and the Pakistanis are rapidly shedding all signs of the English tutelage and are attempting to reconstruct their culture on a native basis. Pakistan has decided to return to the Koran and to build up its future on a Moslem foundation. India has decided on an Indian system of basic education, which as a matter of fact contains more Western features than Indian. Both attempts are still *sub judice* and it is too early to pronounce a final verdict.

In all examples cited in this article one of the most important factors was and still is the problem of the language of instruction. We have seen that the successful school reform of Maria Theresa almost foundered when Joseph II attempted to impose the German language on non-German minorities. We know that the attempts at Russification in Russia did not succeed and that in the end the Soviet Government accepted the principle of native speech as a medium of instruction for each linguistic group. We have seen the revival of Flemish in Belgium, the revival of Irish in the Irish Republic and even the revival of Quechua in Peru.

France appears to be the only country where the legal imposition of French by the Convention was accepted by non-French speaking minorities, yet even there we see the incipient regionalist movements. But France is an outstanding exception owing to the universal humanism of French culture, and the French linguistic monopoly was successful only in Europe; it has failed in Syria and Lebanon and in Indo-China. Its success in North Africa is being severely tested at present, and the outcome is uncertain.

History has proved quite definitely that the imposition of a foreign language as the medium of instruction is the first step to failure. A foreign system can only succeed if transmitted in the national language. In countries with similar religious traditions, with almost identical socio-economic backgrounds, this condition seems sufficient for successful transplantation of foreign school systems, but when the countries are dissimilar in every respect the language problem is only the initial obstacle. Even in India and Pakistan the language difficulties are not yet solved. In Africa the language problem has just come to the surface and is engaging all progressive reformers.

Language, however, is only one factor, although of first priority, in the building up of original cultural traditions. There are universal humanistic elements in all variations of human civilization, but they are not sufficient in themselves to create a national culture, peculiar to the genius of each country. Climate and geography, mineral re-



sources, religion and tribal traditions, must be taken into account if the transfer of an educational system is to lead to beneficial results. Granted that successful transfer of a foreign system is possible if financial resources are available, the question then arises whether the original culture of the country can survive a total transplantation of foreign traditions and mores. European reformers and their Asian and African followers assume the superiority of European or American civilizations, and often look with contempt upon native culture of non-European origin. The superiority of Western civilization, however, is not proved by repeated assertions. It is a moral philosophical problem on a quite different plane to the technical and financial difficulties of a transfer. Are we Europeans quite certain that we have a moral right to impose our technological civilization, the result of our historical development, upon less developed countries, and are we quite sure that humanity as a whole will benefit by such a submergence of non-European civilizations?

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### CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

**William Line and Margery R. King**

#### I. INTRODUCTORY

This article reflects upon some of the problems encountered in cross-cultural research. It draws on the experience of participating in the establishing of the International Institute for Child Study (Bangkok), and in helping to design and foster its initial research programme. Many of the problems encountered will have reference to cross-cultural studies generally.

The International Institute grew out of the joint interests of the Government of Thailand and Unesco, particularly with reference to educational policy. The general concern was as to the wisdom and legitimacy of super-imposing forms of education that have emerged in the west on cultures which, for various reasons, have only now decided upon formal compulsory education programmes.

Specifically, three questions were uppermost in mind:—

- (a) To what extent is education a means of transmitting to the younger generation those aspects or elements of culture which have proved to be of value?
- (b) To what degree is the educational process responsible for training the on-coming generation in such a manner that the value-contribution of the culture is enhanced?
- (c) To what degree should education concentrate on adjustment to,

and complete acceptance of existing cultural values, either those evidenced locally, or those that have been experienced in other countries?

These questions obviously have many sub-divisions and extensions. They serve, however, to give emphasis to the notion of value, whether as a central feature of cultural heritage and nurture, or as a basic consideration of cultural evolution rather than mere change.

It is obvious from these preliminary statements that the frame of reference of the authors of this article is psychological. To be perfectly clear on our meaning of psychological, we beg leave to state the following postulates:

- (a) Psychology must be able to concern itself with phenomenological considerations.
- (b) In so doing it is automatically involved in questions of value-in-experience, which means, eventually and essentially, value-in-communication.
- (c) The phenomenological life-space is personalized, and is structured inter-personally; there are self; other self-relationships; and even so-called impersonal objects have inter-personal reference.
- (d) Other-selves will vary in levels of significance (intimacy, value) in relation to the Self, the Self being no more and no less than the conveniently hypothesized ground of one's own inter-personal value systems.
- (e) Value implies partnership among selves, the process of partnership being of supreme moment. Goal-objectives of the group are significant only in so far as they maximize the universal aspects of inter-personal communion.

Our approach to the broader problems stated above was, therefore, through the dynamics of child development, and the continuation of growth and development throughout the life span. Thus specified, the approach need not fear any cross-cultural barriers. Justification of the approach must await the research results, and the wisdom of educational policy in translating those results into cultural (institutional) action.

But something more is demanded of this bold venture into internationalism. There must be declared a clearly identifiable point of view as to wherein the value-component lies. Value is unquestionably value-in-experience; in experience that is essentially and universally personalized. It must therefore, at the same time, be universally valuable.

In the context of our thinking, we could not escape the conviction that "mental health" offered the most realistic base of operation, if individual-personal value were to be part and parcel of universal culture. Accordingly, we set forth our point of view in the following assumptions:—

- (a) Personality development and mental health are profoundly influenced by early childhood experience, particularly those of an intimate, inter-personal character.
- (b) Cultural values are reflected in, and dynamically transmitted through, the intimacies and practices of family living, and their extensions in the community.
- (c) Important foci of research-attention are, therefore, adult to adult, adult to child, and child to child relationships, and the ways in which these relationships operate in group living in all forms of social organization.
- (d) On the positive side, the mentally healthy individual is one who is living with himself and others happily and productively, contributing to and participating in his immediate culture, and engaging the respect and appreciation of his fellows.
- (e) The promotion of mental health in the positive sense is desirable, and may be regarded as a principal aim of education.

All the above considerations need clarification. In the brief compass of an article, the clarification may best be attempted by outlining the scope of the initially-implemented research programme.

The programme is based on the longitudinal approach to human development. It is centred on a number of experimental schools, representative of the age-span pre-school to university and of the usual community variations such as rural-urban. At the same time, all institutions and communities having educational import may be used as laboratories for special projects. In this manner, community projects on basic education (e.g. Unesco-Thailand Ubol project), on school-community integration (e.g. Unesco-Thailand Chachoengsao project), on anthropological delineations of life in a Thai village (Cornell University project) and on educational methods (Indiana University—Thailand College of Education project) can be related to the Institute's concerns; and at the same time, various communities and school-organizations can serve as partners in the total enterprise.

Within the immediate responsibility of the Institute itself, six areas of enquiry have been launched, to wit:

- (a) Cultural (particularly parental) practices, in Thailand.
- (b) Retrospective Life Histories of Teachers-in-Training, teachers

being a conveniently available social group coming from various parts of the country.

- (c) Social relationships and value-systems among peer-groups at all ages within the school system.
- (d) Achievement and intelligence norms, empirically determined, on the Binet principle of age-variation, using test material that is relatively culture-free, and that may eventually be useful universally at least within the Asian cultures.
- (e) The process of concept-formation.
- (f) Personality pointers that are operative in Asian cultures, and that may help us to see something more basic than the projective-testing systems of western origin.

In each of these areas, the presence, in Bangkok, of research-fellows from other Asian and from Western cultures will ensure constant non-parochial scrutiny. In so far as these areas can be examined by comparable techniques in Research Institutes throughout the world, there may be developed an operation of supreme importance to the problem of making social science universal in its significance.

This introductory statement needs to be pointed up, before we proceed to reflect upon some of the already-experienced problems of cross-cultural research. At the moment, the following challenges appear to be exciting:—

- (a) The International Institute for Child Study (Bangkok) provides an opportunity for scientists and students to meet together to discuss more than the immediate implications of local experiments, to assess what they are doing in relation to current social action, particularly in the field of education.
- (b) In this way, science accepts a responsible social conscience.
- (c) Research is therefore "action-research."
- (d) All of the disciplines concerned with man's potentialities, not merely with his determining or limiting circumstances, are involved.
- (e) The meaning of "culture" must be based on the meaning of "man,"

## II. CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

### a. *Some Problems of Method.*

One of the first problems of research methodology and design stems from the fact that laboratory controls, in the usual sense, are not available to cross-cultural research. This is obvious, especially when we remember that these controls are, in part, governed by the

ethical principle of not in any way threatening the sanctity of the character-structures of the human experimental subjects. Not that field studies will be at all free to offend in this respect. But the laboratory procedure protects itself from the dangers of such offensiveness in a stringent, particular way, namely, by shutting out "culture." Here, however, we are trying to encompass "culture" as one of the important variables.

Even the controls commonly used in community research, such as "matched groups," cannot be employed universally; for in cross-cultural settings, "matching" is well-nigh impossible. Such factors as chronological age or marital status units are functionally variable from culture to culture. "Matched methods" may offer helpful possibilities; but the whole question of "comparability" is again one of the objects of the research itself. We are really up against the problem of comparable methodology.

We must recognize at the outset that we are trying to deal with phenomena that are dynamic in all cultures, although to varying degrees, and with varying contexts. Thus, "breast feeding" is an interpersonal situation, to some extent a universal (cross-cultural) practice, yet with almost infinite variety of duration, periodicity, form of cultural sanction, control and the like. Similarly with dynamic institutional processes such as "the family," "fatherhood," "home," "school"; with phases of the life span which endeavor to relate institutional practices to developmental stages such as infancy, childhood, adolescence, adult-hood, old age; with conflicts and stresses in self-awareness such as trust-mistrust, dependence-independence, affection-rejection, shame-guilt, and so on.

In developmental studies within a given culture, the tendency is to reduce the systematic context to "adjustment," and thus to return to some semblance of the control-prediction formula. Much of our child study in the west (though by no means all) does just this. We tend to assume some sort of constancy of the social environment, and thus to set up behavioral norms that, in reality have local empirical meaning, but little besides. One needs only the experience of witnessing the avidity with which students in Thailand memorize western norms, such as the height-weight tables, or frequencies of left-handedness, to question our current method when applied to the area of our present concern.

Consequently even the depth studies of Freud, or the classical process studies of Piaget, need to be re-done in this more universal context, since the social milieu in which the studies take place is of great importance. How to design the re-doing is a real problem, and



one on which the social sciences generally have had relatively little, as yet, to say.

None-the-less social scientists have probably given a significant lead in the concept of "action-research," for this term undoubtedly relates to the desire to observe how people live, as distinct from how they react. While perhaps there is as yet no clearly delineated *system* in action-research, there has been demonstrated a remarkably sensitive conscience about the ethical impact of the research worker himself and his procedures upon the social matrix within which he operates. All social research is a highly moral action, even when confined to studies in one culture. In cross-cultural impacts, the point is all the more obviously important. The chaechoengao action-research in Thailand, where a small-town centre is endeavoring to relate education to rural-urban cultural development, brings together educationists from various countries. What happens when new apparatus, new techniques, new value-conceptions are introduced? Does the research make teachers-in-training less likely to return to rural settings where the physical, material and value conditions are markedly different? What is the responsibility in such ventures?

Again of great importance is the fact that all research (action-research included) involves observation. But observation is by no means as simple as is implied in our traditional tailor-made attempts to dignify the scientific method by specificity and obsessional restriction. Observation is culturally both encouraged and restricted, especially where really human affairs are concerned. For example, only recently was psychology in the West permitted to add parental practices to its fields of "respectable" observation. "The Englishman's home was his castle." To seek causal explanations of "where is my wandering boy tonight" beyond the realms of hereditary, racial, environmental, demonological, and organic evolution, or the lack of impact of the spirit, was to assume that some sort of *moral secularism* was to be examined; and that would never do! Furthermore, since all observations in our field of enquiry involve the partnership of the subjects themselves, as, for instance, when we investigate attitudes or judgments, we encounter the remarkably interesting fact that people who observe, at our request and under our direction, differ tremendously in the things that are sanctioned and that they are prepared to observe. In Western culture, particularly in North America, with its highly competitive inter-personal system of organization, the rating-scale mode of observation is taken for granted. Social scientists, industrialists, educational examiners, adopt it without question. Even medicine says "how do you feel?" and expects an objec-



tive datum in the response. In many instances, the rating-scale method is governed by the assumption that "superiors" can rate "inferiors," but not vice versa. If a "superior" rates an "inferior" as "very superior" or "very inferior," the rating itself reflects upon the action-potential of "supervision," which is itself a superior-inferior anchorage. To a superior, the acknowledgement of superiority in an underling may involve a threat to his own security; to rate one's colleague as inadequate is a criticism of one's own supervision. The point could be illustrated endlessly.

Everywhere we find, if we do not ignore the question, that there are some things that it is polite to observe, but others that it would be shocking to pin-point in observation. To a Thai, for example, it would be immoral to "observe" one's self as extraordinarily good, or extraordinarily bad. One just *is*; and in *being*, together with *being-in-becoming*, lies reality.

Or again, in Bangkok, the idea of studying a Thai village was welcomed as exciting. Yet when it was realized that the investigators actually intended to see how the Thai villagers *lived*, there was some apparent consternation. Rice production was a very laudable item of enquiry, for Thai farmers produce rice interestingly, beautifully, with artistry. But to contemplate the living process of the rice-producers! . . . surely, such a line of enquiry would introduce comparative notions that would make the Thai farmers appear uncivilized—they don't even have television!!! In other words, the culture might be in danger of losing face if other than indigenous standards of culture were applied.

We don't need to go to the East to illustrate the point. When Western Reserve University, through its Department of Psychology, some thirty years ago enquired into the sex aspirations and practices of its students, the English journal, "Punch," published the questionnaire verbatim—with the droll comment: "If this is Western reserve, what, may we ask, is Western impudence?"

Dr. Kinsey provides another illustration. Market-research surveys, still another, especially under Technical Assistance and bi-lateral economic programmes. The current buying habits of Chinese Traders in Bangkok include T.V. sets, with no widespread television, wrist watches in a relatively timeless culture, Western cosmetics for Asians (which will most assuredly change the status of the betel nut), and a hundred other examples of our lack of understanding as to the meaning of "goods" in relation to cultural needs, aspiration, paths of development and such-like ethical considerations.

Under the present conditions of sudden involvement in each others'

behavior, Eastern cultures will welcome observation of those facets of living that compare favourably with Western patterns, even if the favourable comparison rests only on the basis of exciting differences and, to us, "novelty"; — for we Westerners have been very insular. If we assign to "difference from us" a superior-inferior value connotation, the Asian may resist the idea in that he loses face by our enquiries—and he will resist that idea with all the force of his self-hood.

There must therefore be created a mutuality, a *participant* quality to all observation in the cross-cultural field. And this must be of the utmost sincerity. It is a truly ethical and moral demand. Science will go forward as a true partnership and, not as a mere curiosity based on the assumption that the observer is on Mount Olympus, and that what he observes is peculiar, idiosyncratic, and lower in the scale of living. The observer *is* the living process, with all the dignity and confusion that living involves.

Partnership between the observer of any given culture, and those who come from other cultures, is therefore essential—and true partnership is not easy to guarantee. Since science has played, or has appeared to play, a more dominant role in some cultures, as compared with others, we must ensure that in cross-cultural research ventures the methodology of scientifically-nurtured cultures does not dominate the cross-cultural scene. It may be that science would have been more effective in the world at large if it had taken hold in the humanistic East, rather than in the sub-soils of European Empiricism and North American Materialism.

This section on method can be summarized very simply: and in the summarization we expose its inadequacy. Adequate, however, is the contention that in cross-cultural research there are methodological problems that need to be considered. The limited contribution of this article to that contention points towards:

- (a) action-research, rather than narrowly controlled laboratory research;
- (b) participant-observation, rather than the pre-conceived authoritarian scrutiny of uni-lateral observation.

In both cases we need a clear-cut willingness to endeavor to understand cultural ethics, and thence to make progress towards a deeper appreciation of wherein universality in the human process of ethical thinking may lie.

These fundamental issues will shine through as we proceed to discuss problems of Technique, and Objectives.

(b) *Some Problems of Technique*

One of the first, and most obviously encountered problems of technique is that of language. Consequently, in our eagerness to overcome the language barrier, we tend to turn to translation; and in translation to assume that we have solved our major technical difficulty.

Cross-cultural research isn't that simple!

Let us illustrate our naiveté in this respect. We have sometimes assumed, for example, that while family patterns may vary in different cultures, none the less, the principles underlying such things as projective testing are universal. Consequently, the administering of a Western-devised Thematic Apperception Test (T.A.T.) with due regard for the need to adapt the Western patterns of inter-action among members of the family, and for the need to respect vernacular idiom, should prove to be a fruitful technique in all cultural settings. Personality structure will reveal itself universally.

Yet we find that the very basis of our technical approach—such as pictorial representation of human action—cannot be taken for granted. Pictures just do not exist within the compass of some everyday, warm and hostile human beings. And “personality structure” itself may be a Western idiom.

Or again, the Western scientist, Binet, assumed that, in living, our children noticed certain things; and the degree of their noticing reflected back upon their capacity for awareness.

But what do they notice? And is the very act of noticing, decent? Time and time again, we have been stimulated by the experience of saying (to a Thai, for example) “Why do you people do such-and-such?”; only to meet the reply, “Do we? I had never noticed that.” Observation, in a Western sense, is very peculiar. The techniques of observation is a variable, even though perception may, in some as yet unrevealed sense, be a universal.

The general conclusion, highly tentative, that seems to be warranted is that our techniques must not assume in our minds, the characters of (a) universality as techniques, and (b) direct relationship to all cultures on the analogy of their relationship to the particular culture in which they were standardized. A technique or an instrument of observation is not a thing in itself. People differ in their relationship to a technique far more than they differ in their variance within the technique itself, when that variance is a legitimate datum of socially localized science.

What then do we do? If we have a technique which appears to be valuable in research in our own culture, perhaps it can be adapted

to conditions elsewhere—provided that it can be so adapted beyond the mere change of linguistic translation. If the adaptation begins to reveal developmental dynamics in the new culture, however different the pattern of these dynamics may be, that adaptation may then be applied in the culture of origin; and if this cross-cultural process is continued, back and forth, without any assumptions of rigidity or “objectivity” of technique, we may get somewhere. The same applies to techniques developed *de novo* in any culture. Consequently, we need new techniques that originate appropriately anywhere in the world of varied human societies.

A further, and all-important aspect of technique is *research participation*. In the West, we take this for granted; or, at least, we do research only where we can, within our own community. We ought therefore to recognize that just as in some areas of our own living, community research partnership and permission is denied, so the notion of research partnership has its challenges in other cultures.

These challenges must be recognized; and where possible, met. One must be sensitive to them. Perhaps the best way of operating is to develop research leadership within each culture, rather than rely upon imported leaders. Foreign colleagues will enrich the local team; but the core of the team should be definitely *of* the culture.

(c) *Some Problems of Objectives:*

Here, we are more insecure than ever; for to know what we desire is to challenge our intent.

We have stated boldly our intent is in mental health terms; and we stand or fall quite securely on this basis. To translate that intent into research-action is the prime object of our endeavors.

Our objectives are not to see how far Western patterns of inter-personal relationships apply directly to other cultures. Yet we are definitely convinced by our own evidences that inter-personal relationships can be delineated in formal concepts, and thus give meaning to human development. That meaning is more than philosophically exciting; it is directive to our educational and therapeutic endeavors—or ought so to be.

At the same time, we recognize the weaknesses, or some of the weaknesses, of our Western interpretations of inter-personal strengths, conflicts and stresses. We feel the need for challenging our parochial, and therefore partial, understandings of psychodynamics. We have to rethink, for example, the role of loyalty in development, without the necessary involvement of the adult as a male figure, or even as a sexual object at all. We cannot, in all conscience,

accept the view that all cultures freeze the human personality by the age of three-to-four. Westernism appears to handicap education and industry by turning loose a younger generation of rigidly structured, guilt-ridden, hostile selves—which have to be catered to, exploited, developed under grave difficulty. Is this necessary?

We must be prepared to relate the freedoms ensured by early childhood learnings to the learning process as it manifests itself throughout life, in all cultures. There will be evident basic principles which govern rigidity, repression, restriction, conflict . . . call the resultants what you will. But there will be also the evidence that points towards freedom, flexibility, effectiveness in adjustment . . . and in this direction lies our main goal. Finally, the very process of experiencing needs to be further examined. Modesty of thought, documented in the West since Judaeism and Hellenism, appear to have taken certain forms. Are those forms conventional Westernism? Ask for "water" at an Indo-Chinese hotel dinner-table—and see what you get. A smile, a salaam, but not water. Do you need water to drink, for purposes of taking a bath, to help the flowers grow??? If you say water, in a glass, here, now, to drink . . . the polite salaam is followed by immediate action. Man is infinitely complex, even in his patterns of thinking, no matter how we have tried to pattern his thinking by our concepts about it.

### III. SUMMARY

This article asks for conscientious consideration of scientific method where cross-cultural social science is concerned. It expresses the belief that action-research, morally conceived, can contribute to the study of man in a way that is much needed by man. It suggests that we respect and examine all modes of observation, where human beings are observing themselves. It asks that we do not give lip-service to techniques, unless these techniques are warranted in a universal human context. It boldly suggests that cross-cultural research, which can be conducted only by the union of the sciences, can assist in directing the affairs of man effectively. It challenges the characteristic parochialism of the academic mind.

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## **CROSS CULTURAL EDUCATIONAL ADAPTATION IN CEYLON**

**T. L. Green**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Cross cultural education needs to be considered within two frames of reference, theoretical and practical; or, from the standpoints of the educational sociologist and the practising teacher. Education, as part of a social, cultural and historical continuum, has both conservative and progressive functions, preserving the values of the past and modelling those of the future, within its own setting. It has, however, been treated as a rootless, readily transferable technique, as though, without a determining past, it could be applied to any future.

To overcome this, in the future, those who practice education should be acquainted with the theoretical questions involved, so that education may be "social philosophy in action." In a brief review, neither theory nor practice can adequately be described, nor can any universal course of procedure be laid down. Instead the attempt will be made, using Ceylon as an example, to illustrate problems likely to arise, to suggest methods of meeting them and to indicate other sources of information, to help both the theoretical student of cultural change and those who are practically involved in bringing it about.

It has been said by Melby<sup>1</sup> that "... we must understand that it is the total community that educates, that it is the child's total environment which makes impact upon him and shapes him ... the community itself and its individual citizens are likewise being shaped by the community life and process."

Thus the first need is to understand the society within which one works, how it preserves and transmits existing values and what are the barriers to the acceptance of new values. Only then is it possible to apply new educational procedures—for no one can understand the present who lacks knowledge of the past, and those who do not understand the present should not plan the future.

### **DETERMINANTS OF VALUE SYSTEMS IN CEYLON**

Historical, social, cultural and economic factors operate to produce sub-cultures in which ethnic, linguistic and religious differentials appear.

The Ceylonese number over 6½ millions at the most recent census<sup>2</sup> comprised of Sinhalese (79%), Tamils (20%), Burghers (0.6%), together with small permanent minorities of Ceylon Moors, Malays, etc. and smaller temporary minorities (e.g. Europeans).

The original inhabitants today are represented by the illiterate



backward forest-dwelling Veddah people. The Sinhalese came from India over two thousand years ago and were followed by waves of immigrant Tamils, who today comprise the S. Indian labour forces. The two languages are different, with different scripts, Sinhalese being derived from Sanscrit and Tamil being of Dravidian origin. The Sinhalese are Buddhists, the Tamils are Hindu, but both today include a small number of Christians. The Burghers descend from Portuguese and Dutch inter-marriage with Sinhalese (and on a small scale, with Tamils); a few claim still to be pure Dutch and both groups have adopted English as a badge of their partially European origin. At one time a power group, the Dutch Burghers have now lost status and many have emigrated.<sup>3</sup> The Moors and Malays are Muslims. The Moors, of Arab origin, form an important trading and mercantile group, though they are educationally backward.

The economy is mostly agricultural, but there is a growing need for technological development to raise the standard of living—the average wage has been given as 570 rupees per year.<sup>4</sup> Productive work absorbs most of the gainfully employed but the Sinhalese ambition is to be “a gentleman,” living off the land; or to seek service with the government, the largest employer, at clerical level or above, thus gaining status, security and economic reward.

Caste, long a factor in social equilibrium,<sup>5</sup> is still operative, though now less inhibitory of social mobility.<sup>6</sup> Sinhalese society has been described as “loosely integrated,”<sup>7</sup> a condition considered as a social determinant of insecurity of personality.<sup>8</sup>

Buddhism involves well known value systems such as Kharma, Dhamma, ahimsa, re-birth and the like, which become of particular significance for education. Astrological belief is well nigh universal and there are widespread beliefs of magical and anthropomorphic origin.

Western education, originating with the missionaries and aimed first at proselytism was developed by the British to provide a clerical corps and as a political interest to foster a class “attached to their country by birth, and to England by education.”<sup>9</sup> Ruler identification made this a social instrument which led to a large English educated middle class and an upper class élite whose wealth and status set a pattern which for long rejected, and even despised its indigenous culture.

Political independence has led to a resurgent nationalism which embodies tensions relating to language and religion and is both a battle of cultures and a clash between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority.

## THE TRANSMISSION OF VALUES

While society and experience as a whole are agents in the transmission of values it will be appropriate to confine attention to child-rearing practices, the formal procedures of the educative process and to some consideration of their outcome—to the psychology of childhood in Ceylon.

*Child-rearing practices* in a low country village have been studied by Straus,<sup>8</sup> some comments on the situation in general have been made by Green<sup>10</sup> who has also reported on the attitudes of adults to child behavior in Ceylon.<sup>11</sup>

Family structure, within which child-rearing takes place, is possessed of special characteristics which undoubtedly vary within the sub-cultures of Ceylon. While there are remnants of matrilineal organization and of the joint-family system, today, family organization is patriarchal and women are subservient to men, though in functional terms the family is a conceptual unit extending far beyond parents and their children. These extended loyalties are limiting factors on individual freedom and impose a number of restrictions which operate as sanctions in numerous situations.

In general, children are expected to be submissive to authority, to conform to parental demands and social mores and to be dependent. They are taught to worship their parents and the priest. The baby and young child are indulged in a permissive situation which makes no exacting demands in regard to feeding or excretory habits. At the birth of a subsequent child, or on reaching walking age, the interest and attention of the father seems suddenly to be withdrawn, a traumatic experience which may be heightened by sudden and forceful weaning. Over-protection exists throughout childhood, for children are constantly attended by parent, ayah (nursemaid) or servant. They are seldom alone and seldom out of sight of familiar situations and people, and often in physical contact with the latter. Children are typically "rocked to sleep," often lying on the floor with the head upon the leg of mother, ayah or older sister.

The value systems and attitudes of society are impressed by social imitation, direct teaching, through songs, rhymes and admonitory verses, by "rites de passage," by punishment, usually physical, often severe and seldom consistent, and by threats to security. Among the latter may be mentioned threats of abandonment, of giving away (among the poor, children are often given away, ostensibly as a form of adoption, in fact to become child servants) or of being taken away by the "goonabilla" ("bogey man").

The Sinhalese in general, more particularly the villagers, whose

religious beliefs are mostly anthropomorphic and magical, are strongly influenced by astrology. Each individual has a horoscope cast from which suspicious times are determined for all major life events. Thus it is on an "auspicious day" that the child, usually in the third, fifth or seventh year "learns his first letters," repeating them after priest or teacher. Long before it is possible to estimate ability, a child may have been astrologically defined as lacking ability—and be educationally neglected. Others may prove to lack ability, as measured by performance later in school days, and suffer because there exists no astrological grounds for such deviant behaviour.

Children run naked up to three, four, five, and later in the villages, but are slowly brought to accept the attitudes of society, largely derived from Buddhism, which are as much those of shame as of modesty. Girls have restricted freedom, especially after the first menstruation, with which are associated particular rites-de-passage. No girl or young woman travels alone after dark, or even in daylight, except in very familiar situations. Heterosexual contacts are limited to home and school and the relations between the sexes closely guarded.

Though these conditions are most typical of rural society and the lower socio-economic urban groups, they extend far up the social scale and none are entirely absent, even among the westernized upper classes. Indeed, at this level, over-protection and consequent dependence may be even more marked.

It may be pointed out here that in Tamil society family structure is even more institutionalized and child rearing practices less permissive. Among the Islamic groups, where "purdah" exists in varying degrees of orthodoxy, child-rearing may be still more exacting. In contrast is the greater degree of freedom accorded to Burgher children, of both sexes, consequent upon their preservation of certain western values and Christian belief.

The social climate of education is authoritarian<sup>10</sup> in conformity with general social attitudes and the "guru" tradition—for the priest was once the teacher.<sup>12</sup> Verbalisation and memorization, the means of communication and transmission among illiterate people, have retained their position and added to the authority of the printed word which has to be remembered, rather than understood. Teaching is formal, authoritarian and abstract with too little attention to experience or experimentation. There is little group work, little evidence of progressive attitudes and an emphasis upon note taking.

While curriculum change has been a main consideration among educational officials and their advisers for a long time, it still reflects

formalistic rather than progressive views in education. The emphasis is on informational content and not on experiential socializing facets, nor even on social needs,<sup>13</sup> though the worst anomalies of the former political overlordship are being removed.

An important aspect of the formal educative position is the high proportion of untrained teachers and the low proportion of graduate teachers. Under-qualified and untrained teachers provide a factor which operates in conservative terms and reflects the least progressive values in society.

It should, however, be pointed out that education has been and is responsible for much of value in Ceylon<sup>14</sup> and that since political independence much progress has been made.<sup>15</sup>

#### THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD

The dangers of accepting as real what are only apparent differences of psychological make-up need no stressing, for they have been demonstrated by Anastasi and Foley<sup>16</sup> and many others. At the same time the work of Mead,<sup>17</sup> Benedict<sup>18</sup> and duBois<sup>19</sup> to name but a few, demonstrates the reality of cultural differentiation in personality. More recently, Priestley<sup>20</sup> using an Asian setting, has pointed out the dangers of transferring motivational and other interpretations from one culture pattern to another.

Children in Ceylon, seen against western standards, appear submissive—yet liable to aggression when control is removed; this exists right up to undergraduate days. Inter-personal and inter-group tensions are very marked and child society is based on ever changing cliques. Though interests and hobbies exist, the opportunities to meet and extend them are few; as a result children lack the "know-how" initiative and resourcefulness characteristic of the western child. Persistence levels appear to be low, and interest does not lead to occupational ambition, which instead is motivated by status-seeking factors.<sup>21</sup> Dexterity and manual skill, as may be expected in a non-mechanized culture, appears to be high in childhood,<sup>22</sup> but mechanical and scientific interests fail to develop. Youth performs at high level in tasks based on verbal factors but at surprisingly low levels where non-language factors are involved.<sup>22, 23</sup>

Insecurity appears as a marked feature of childhood,<sup>8</sup> coupled with hyper-sensitivity to criticism and lack of confidence. There is little independence and little sense of adventure. However, to a considerable degree, both resistance and resilience, appear to be the basis of successfully dealing with a situation full of conflicting factors. Thus children appear to be able to learn western science and at the same time accept direction by non-causative theory—without devel-

oping conflicts. It seems possible that anxiety neurosis is a not uncommon feature of children in a culture pattern demanding conformity to agencies which are inconsistent and often in conflict. It may be that anxiety regarding sex is also marked, for, while the old social taboos remain the traditional models of sex education (e.g. menstrual rites-de-passage) are disappearing, youth is subjected, on an ever-increasing scale, to the stimuli of western press, film and radio. This problem of conflict, despite the apparent capacity to adapt to it or ignore it, is of importance as a determinant of personality. Between the demands of home and schools, age and youth and the traditional and progressive factors in living, there are sharp differences. Their effect on the individual has yet to be explored, but that they must add to insecurity seems certain.

The most marked feature is the lack of a developmental attitude towards childhood and youth in Ceylon. The child is treated as though there were almost immediate changes from babyhood to childhood, and from childhood to adulthood. This attitude, which thrusts responsibility on the child too soon is accompanied by a long continued demand for dependence. There is no concept of maturation, no interpretation of adolescence as a period in which the individual slowly achieves independence and heterosexual adjustment. At the first menstruation the girl is said to have "attained age" and the question of marriage at once arises. It may be long deferred, but the most recent census<sup>2</sup> recorded over forty-four thousand births (in a total of one and a fifth millions) to girls of fourteen and below.

#### THE BARRIERS TO ACCULTURATION

The situation so briefly described above, which may well be less complex than those obtained elsewhere in Asia is, nevertheless, complex enough to present difficulties to those wishing to adapt educational means to a new society, as agents of acculturation. Though it cannot be explored more fully here, it is clear that many of the ideas expressed at the Stanford Conference on Education and Anthropology<sup>25</sup> might well be applied to this problem, especially Siegel's concept of models.

This would show how value systems inherent in a number of social institutions in Ceylon lead to attitudes and patterns of action which are used as modes of cultural transmission. It would demonstrate also the genesis of inter-cultural conflicts, dependent upon value differences and emerging as tensions. Associated with these cultural phenomena would be others, in which economic and historical aspects are important, which act as limitations and directives of the institutional aspect of education. Lastly would be the question of individual



personality, shaped by society, possessed of certain psychological characteristics, reacting as a peer culture and simultaneously acting as a determinant of the future society.

From such an extended analysis there would emerge many points among which four are of importance.

a. The basic values, such as those deriving from Buddhist belief, cannot be questioned in a world searching for toleration.

b. Many of the patterns of behavior demanded of the individual are not the outcomes of the basic value system but, as in western societies, are secondarily contingent upon the inadequacies of adult psychology, the demands of expediency and a misunderstanding of the nature of childhood.

c. The key points in the position are in relation to personality and attitudes, so that the fundamental problems will have to be tackled in terms of socialization, and not of informational transmission.

d. The key points of Sinhalese personality patterns have been the subject of comment from early travellers to writers of the present day. Despite this we still lack detailed work in this field, though Ceylon would be an ideal ground for testing hypotheses relating to cultural personality determinants. The insecurity, already noted is associated with a syndrome of such features as over-sensitiveness to criticism, unwillingness to accept responsibility<sup>26</sup> and lack of faith in personal abilities. Jealousy is common, leading to readiness to jettison group ends for personal reasons, and tensions related to communal loyalties are strongly marked.<sup>27, 28</sup> Short-term ends are more readily sought than those based on distant planning and there is little idea of cooperation based on mutual responsibility and involvement. The low levels of aspiration in terms of effort and standard of performance and the lack of any idea of maximum output in "an honest day's work"<sup>29</sup> constantly confront those seeking to regear the social machine.

e. The conditions to be faced have developed over a long period of time and on a wide front and no programme which is set in any but long-time wide-scale terms is likely to be successful.

#### EDUCATIONAL ADAPTATION

The complexity of the problem needs no further emphasis, except perhaps to add that those who work within the University have no direct means of influencing education. (Indirectly they may do so through teacher training). Faced with a wide and complex field and a restricted sphere of action the writer attempted to lay down certain guiding principles. These include:—

a. Extending the activities of the Department of Education into as



many extra-mural fields as possible, in order to build up a wider understanding of educational issues throughout society. In English and the vernacular languages, through the local press, Radio Ceylon, and through Parent Teacher Associations and the like there has been carried on a constant conditioning of the public to the wider issues of education presented in progressive terms.

b. Working in co-operation with official and non-official professional bodies provides an approach to the specialist. The Department of Education of the University of Ceylon has thus been associated with advisory committees, the Advisory Council on Education of Ceylon, the Police and Probation Department, the Ministries of Education, Health and Home Affairs and Associations of Teachers, Inspectors, the Training Colleges, etc. in a wide variety of educational work.

c. Developing research in educational and in related social spheres. A research programme was laid down at the inception of the Department with objectives related to Ceylon's educational needs and problems and the interests of the staff. Without a clearly formulated plan, research work may lack integration and be irrelevant to local problems.

d. Training local staff who will be responsible for teacher training, not along formal lines, but by developing a democratic relationship, working as a group dealing with a joint responsibility, encouraging research and facilitating overseas study and travel and receiving as many visitors from overseas as possible.

Teacher training is the main key available to those engaged in educational adaptation, and the first aim should be to make it *teacher-education*, a widening of experience, a re-orientation of interests and a re-shaping of attitudes, rather than a merely informational course.

So far as content is concerned, little may be said, beyond emphasising the need to deal with social concepts, social psychology, educational sociology and the social interpretation of historical and comparative studies in education.

It is method that is most important. The main problem, already described and defined, is that of helping towards the growth of security, confidence, responsibility, co-operation and the like. These can be the subjects of reading and of lectures, but to become part of a personality, they have to be experienced. Thus, while lectures are unavoidable, they should be as little authoritarian as possible. Students should have opportunity to question the speaker, even to plan the syllabus. There should be seminars, tutorial groups (assigned to tutors available often to give help and advice) group work on projects, surveys and pilot research studies. The constant aim must be

to build up, between all concerned, a sympathetic rapport and a feeling of being collaborators with a joint responsibility: the betterment of society through education. Authority must exist, but it should be the authority deriving from a social situation, and not dictated in virtue of status or person. Responsibility must be widespread—by participant activities in which each individual has a contribution to make. Confidence must be gained—not by precept, but by readiness on the part of the tutor to do all that he asks of others, especially in the field of practical work.

Some of the more pressing and dangerous problems can be taken for special and practical attention. Stereotypes of one sub-cultural group as seen by another can be studied by the groups whose members act as subjects. The reactions of individuals to aggression, inhibition, sarcasm and other so-called disciplinary devices can be studied by using real examples in the group and the staff. Psychodrama at an elementary and non-specialist level can be used for experimental purposes. Hierarchic organization should, as much as possible, be ignored. In Ceylon, by happy chance as much as original planning, the students reading for the Diploma in Education have all had some teaching experience and have always included not only assistant teachers, but school principals and members of the inspectorate.

The practical teacher will always ask "what do I do when I go back to my school?" He will go back to a barrier built of those who have not come into contact with his newly-acquired ideas and experiences, and he will not, in most cases, enjoy the support of status or collaborators. This is one of the situations which underlines the need for a widespread extra-mural campaign. Apart from that, our returned teacher must hope that his example will slowly carry the weight of conviction. To give him support, his Department should still feel some responsibility towards him, not through the often arid Old Students' Associations, but by a living contact of continued interest. He should be encouraged to visit, to write for help and he can be used as a collaborator in field work.

He will have many problems to face. If he has been given some understanding of basic principles, rather than a training in "the tricks of the trade" he will have a universal procedure which can be adapted to the details of many specific situations. What are some of the typical situations?

A common one in Asia concerns practical work. Caste, low economic reward and restricted opportunity make metal work and wood work unpopular. Unfortunately they have been introduced as crafts, as thought of in the West. This stresses their vocational affinities

and masks cultural values. If they were introduced as subsidiaries to other subjects, such as the sciences, or as part of activity work in social studies *first*, they would be seen in a different setting, and probably better accepted. Again, if the formal approach is deemed better, they can be linked up with caste-free vocations, and taught as relating to engineering, electrical work etc. The mere change of name from "carpentry" to "wood work" had, in Ceylon, a pronounced effect upon the attitudes of parents and pupils.

The most significant focal point lies in pupil-teacher relations, a field studied in relation to social climate elsewhere (e.g. Lippitt and White)<sup>30</sup> and in somewhat less formal terms in Ceylon (Green<sup>31</sup> and Wyeth<sup>32</sup>). Experience in the training department should have laid a foundation for improvements here. The teacher should have built on this by trying to understand his pupils and by seeking co-operation, rather than by using artificial competition and "discipline." He will need to understand their interests and motivations and use these in the service of education. It is particularly important to devise ways of "getting everyone in" and to avoid giving all the attention to the noisy extrovert, all the responsibility to the "leaders"—and all the neglect to the submissive recessives. If democrats come from democracy, then pupils must be given the chance to elect their officers, and helped to do so by discussions of the problems involved.

The general thesis, so far as procedure is concerned, which is offered here, is that the teacher must interpret education as a socializing experience and work in terms of social situation and relationships, rather than in academic and formal terms of "subjects." These cannot be neglected, but all the existing evidence points to the greater value of progressive as compared with formalistic procedures, even when measured by formalistic means.<sup>33</sup>

#### EVALUATION

Sincerity and good intentions are no measure of success; it is thus essential to keep in mind the need for evaluation. At the first stage this may well be concerned with the more philosophical problems involved—we have given too little attention to the basic question of whether what we want to introduce is of greater worth than what exists. In this connection the essays of Northrop, Basu, Little and Leach<sup>34</sup> offer valuable ideas.

As a second stage a programme of evaluation should be instituted which may deal with the kind of topics reviewed by Green<sup>35</sup> and which will involve some of the difficulties reviewed elsewhere by the same author.<sup>36</sup> Evaluation, like other forms of soul searching, can be embarrassing! It was, for example, shown by Jayasuriya<sup>37</sup> and Raja-

ratnam,<sup>38</sup> in relation to science and arithmetic respectively, that the official legislation laid down in Ceylon, to regulate the teaching of these subjects in relation to language difficulties, was in direct opposition to the ability of pupils to learn in the vernacular as opposed to English language. In connection with the same problems of language it has been shown<sup>28</sup> by sociometric means that a Ministerial attempt at repudiation of a school principal's diagnosis of communal cleavage was unsound.

In particular, it may be noted that evaluation research can disclose what the normal examination cannot. Thus, while the latter can give an estimate of what teachers have learned, in informational terms, about say, child psychology, only attitudinal evaluation can disclose shifts of attitude towards children.<sup>39</sup> Similarly it has been shown that the emphasis on science and practical subjects in schools in Ceylon has not yet resulted in the development of those abilities, basic to a developing technology, at which it aimed.<sup>40</sup>

The problem of curricular content needs rigorous attention and critical evaluation as a guide to fitting them to local needs. At present, in Ceylon and other under-developed Asian countries, a western tradition derived from a former political overload and the western training of the key figures in education, coupled with a highly centralized educational system has led to the neglect of rural needs, in favour of those in urban areas. At the same time, social and economic pressures have emphasized academic subjects, rather than those of cultural or practical value. In brief, social needs, the developmental and cultural needs of the individual and particularly the interests of the pupil, have been overlooked. Thus, in Ceylon, science teaching has neglected the problems of the life situation of the pupil. Biological education has failed to capitalize on the value of biology as a central catalyst and the place of science in primary education—which is all that a majority receive—is neglected.

#### CONCLUSION

Many of the points raised above need far more detailed treatment than can be given them here. This, to some extent, accounts for the critical—and doubtless to some rather pessimistic—view given of education. It will be noted however that stress was laid on the progress made in Ceylon and it cannot be of value to offer an analysis which suffers from the over optimism and other characteristics which the writer has elsewhere diagnosed as important limiting factors to progress in social action programmes.<sup>36</sup> Pink spectacles may be comforting—but they are also relaxing to effort. The greatest need in education in the countries of South-east Asia, of which Ceylon is

typical, and among which she is in many ways a leader, is for that challenge to action which will only be derived from a critical study of education in its social setting. It has been the purpose of this review to give a blueprint of the form such a study should take.

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## SOME NOTES ON EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN EGYPT

Salama I. Hammad

Towards the end of the 18th century a certain number of social and political events ushered mainly by the French invasion of Egypt, led to a huge movement of modernization or Europeanization. This movement was in essence, and particularly so in its early stages, a series of transportation and adoption of European systems and institutions and the use of those with very little or no adaptation to bring the country to a level of efficiency equal to that demonstrated by the French army and administration. As the army was the most prominent feature and effective factor in European supremacy, the first step taken was to reorganize the army and modernize it on French models. This in its turn introduced, or made necessary the introduction of, a certain type of education largely military in nature and procedure; a number of military academies to satisfy the need for officers in the various services was established and staffed by French and other European elements.

It was found quite soon that such an education, in order to yield its expected results and so prove its worth, ought to be prepared for by another stage of education, the main function of which was to enable the students intended for the higher military academies to cope with the advanced studies of their specialization. A type of secondary school or preparatory school was therefore established. The organization of these schools was, by dint of their association with the military academies, also military. The students wore uniforms, resided in the schools, and were given military ranks.

Further to this, another stage of preparation was found necessary in order to prepare for the secondary schools. A number of primary schools was founded for this purpose, the main function of which was to transmit the elementary skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic; in short the three R's. Thus, for the first time in Egypt an almost complete system of education was founded with three progressive stages, and to make the running of such a system possible and profitable a central administration was created under the name of the "Council of Schools." This arrangement reached its culmination in the organization of 1838.

The education which was the subject matter of this new system was quite a deviation from the traditional educational practices that had existed in the country prior to the French invasion. Islamic education was, and is still governed in its policies and subjects by religious requirements and principles. Originally this education satisfied all the needs of the society as long as these emanated from the

religious principles which ruled the life of the society. It is also to be noted that for a long time Islamic society had remained almost static with little or no change, and this naturally did not call for any drastic change in the content or organization of education. When the new organization in the army and administration in the country was started in earnest in the opening years of the 19th century, the old education failed completely to satisfy, and hence the need for another type of education. The change, however, was not penetrating; there were not, at least for the past fifty years since the introduction of the new organization, any perceptible change in the ways of life. Egyptian life remained for quite a time almost untouched by the new trends in its primary levels. The modernization of the army and administration occurred mainly on the official and superficial level. It was a matter for the ruler; he conceived of it, borrowed its patterns and effected it solely for his own purposes and at his own expense. The people at large had little or nothing to do with it; they remained apathetic, if not hostile to those new devices: The new education being part of, and a means to those innovations, was consequently unacceptable. It was looked upon with suspicion and dislike as a departure from the good and hallowed traditions of Islamic life.

Yet, the ruler had to recruit for his army and army schools from among the Egyptians elements. This was inevitable after the failure of two attempts at recruiting from Albanian and Sudanese elements. With the hostile attitude of the people recruitment had to be enforced, and coercion was the rule. The sight of weeping parents and children was quite common, and the reports of European travelers in Egypt in those years are replete with such sights.

Soon enough parents began to realize the material benefits their children obtained from such an education as they became officers in the army or in the government departments. This alone made the new education tolerable if not acceptable. Yet resistance to the new education on religious grounds still remained; the product of the new education was not held with the same reverence meted to the graduate in the Islamic Schools. Besides, as life was still governed by Islamic tenets and traditions, the new generation was not resorted to for advice on those matters that intimately touched the lives of the people. The graduates in the new schools were admirable as far as officers, administrators, engineers, and medical men, but were completely banned from the inner and emotional life of the people. Their knowledge and the purpose for obtaining it remained a state affair. This strong and close relation between the state and the new education on the one hand, and the severance from the cultural life of

the people still characterize at varying degrees the new education. It is in fact a superficial growth grafted on the country with little roots in the cultural structure of the people.

It should be noted, however, that a certain amount of interaction must have obtained despite such a wide difference between the old and the new educational systems.

Firstly recruitment had to depend mainly on the product of Islamic Schools until the time when the new primary and secondary schools began to furnish students for the higher academies. This happening at the early stages of this education and in the most formative years of its life led to the transfer of some of the old educational traditions to the new education. Rote learning was the chief device in Islamic education, owing to the sacredness of the subjects taught, and the undesirability of any change or possibility of change in the letter of the texts studied. Hence, when students from Al-Azhar Mosque University were introduced into the new education, they tended to adopt the methods they had already followed in their studies; learning by heart became the main educational device even when they plunged into subjects naturally unfitted for such memorization.

This tendency was so influential that the same word for "to keep" and "to learn" was used. One was sent to school in order to keep his subjects or to memorize them<sup>1</sup>.

The same tendency is still observable among Egyptian students of today, and is considered one of the main weaknesses of Egyptian education.

This does not mean that the new education had no effects, for it is in the nature of any education to develop purposes of its own, and European education soon outgrew the narrow and limited functions intended by its originator. Mission members, who were sent to different countries of Europe for further specialization, could not but be impressed by life among European peoples. They carried back with them impressions of European institutions, social and political, and, being convinced of them tried to introduce them to the life of the country in the face of strong oppression dealt them by the despotic rulers of the country. Claims for representative government and constitutional life became the cry from mid-century until culminating in a national rising in 1881. It is interesting that educational reform figured in the programmes of the reforms or aspirants for reform. Enlightened and quite progressive educational laws were passed in the years 1867 and 1880. This mainly operated inside European education, and with the explicit purpose of widening the basis of such

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<sup>1</sup> The word (Nafiza) means to keep and also to learn by heart.

education to cover the generality of Egyptian children, with no distinction of class, geographical location or limitation to government requirements. This movement gained in strength by virtue of its close association with the aims of liberation and the establishment of constitutional political life.

It would be safe therefore to state that the more educated people, the more chances for political enfranchisement, and the results obtained justified the benefits of modern education. The elements that were loudest in the independence movement and the leaders of that movements were almost exclusively the product of this modern education.

With the new education asserting itself apart from the material benefits drawn from it and proving itself an effective means of realizing national aspirations, it grew influences outside its particular field. The old Islamic education fell under such influences; reform of its studies and organization were mainly based on the modern education. Al-Azhar University and its affiliated institutions have undergone drastic changes with a view to bringing them into level with the new schools. The latest move in this direction is the introduction of European languages into the courses of study in the secondary stage of Al-Azhar education in the University grades a few years ago.

With these tendencies, the modern education has brought itself nearer and nearer to the people aided by the acceptance of the principles of compulsory and free education and with serious thinking to postpone specialization in Islamic subjects until the University stages of education, thus making modern education the broad basis and the right of every Egyptian child of school age.

In the field of modern education proper there is a wide movement of adaptation of educational devices from western countries; progressive methods of education in American and European schools are soon noted by Egyptian educationists and adapted for use in Egyptian schools. The Dalton plan and the project method are enjoying wide popularity in Egypt after they had been experimented with in the model schools attached to the Institute of Education, Ain Shams University.

The new organization of education in England and Wales inaugurated by the 1944 Education Act had its influence on Egyptian education, particularly so in the unification of the primary stages and the variation of types of secondary education. Activity methods of teaching are gaining more and more ground. The schools are supplied with libraries, workshops, and laboratories to facilitate the use of such methods. All this bespeaks the tendency to make the new education outgrow its original and limited functions and become more and more a popular education to be pursued for its own sake.



## POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF JAPANESE EDUCATION AND ITS SOCIAL ASPECTS

Shunsuke Murakami and Bunkichi, Iwahashi

### I. REORGANIZATION OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION ON THE BASIS OF DECENTRALIZATION

The system of educational administration in Japan has changed from a situation in which almost all the control of educational functions were concentrated in the hands of the Ministry of Education at the national level, to a situation in which the control is divided among (a) agencies at the national level, primarily the Ministry of Education; (b) agencies at the prefectural level, consisting of the prefectural boards of education, governors, and the prefectural assemblies; and (c) agencies at the local level, consisting of local boards of education, mayors, town or village headmen and the local assemblies.

#### 1. *The Significance of the Reorganization*

The pre-war Japanese system of education which had begun in 1872, had been developed under the control of the central government and operated by the policy of the government. The highly centralized system of educational administration had lasted more than 70 years till it was transformed into the new system immediately after the war. It should be strongly emphasized, therefore, that the reorganization of the old system of administration has a very important meaning in the history of the development of Japanese education.

The reorganization is important not only because it has changed the structure of administration, but has accomplished the democratization of the whole system of Japanese education through execution of administrative functions based on the people's own initiative in each locality. *has it?*

As a result of the expeditious transfer of administrative functions from the central agencies to prefectural and local agencies, however, there arise various problems, which are considered mainly due to the transient difficulties caused by the ineffectiveness on the part of local units in their execution of administrative functions. It will take time to improve the present situation.

#### 2. *Criticism of the New System of Educational Administration*

a. The first criticism is that the authority legally conferred upon the board of education is not compatible with that of the prefectural

and local agencies in the course of the operation of the general legal system.

b. Since the local assembly has the authority not only to lower the budget prepared by the board, but to eliminate items from the budget, the board of education is not fiscally independent. Regarding this point, the second criticism came from board members. They feel that the governor or mayor and the assembly are able to exert too much pressure and control over the budget for schools.

c. Decentralization of control means self-control of education on the part of prefectural or local communities through their own agencies such as the secretariat of boards of education. Since the control of educational functions had been concentrated so far in agencies at the national level, there can be seen inefficiency to some extent which is mainly due to lack of leadership, shortage of specialists in making educational policies and plans, and also due to poor understanding among the people regarding the new system of administration. The third criticism confined itself to the above-mentioned inefficiency. In order to conduct fundamental research which will serve as a remedy for the situation, some prefectural and city research institutes have been established.

## II. IMPROVEMENT OF THE STRUCTURE AND THE CONTENT OF THE WHOLE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Since the pre-war elementary school had provided six-years' tuition-free, compulsory education, no structural reorganization was necessary in the field of elementary education. In the field of secondary education and higher education, the post-war structural reorganization was quite remarkable. Especially, establishment of the new, unitary, ladder system by the 6-3-3 pattern with nine-years of tuition-free compulsory education, was a magnificent achievement in the midst of the post-war disaster. Under the same social trend Kindergartens and Nursery schools and schools for the blind, the deaf and otherwise handicapped have made great improvements.

### 1. *Establishment of the New Unitary Ladder System of Schools of the 6-3-3 pattern*

The most significant improvement in secondary education was the extension of compulsory attendance to include all boys and girls up to 15 years of age. The lower secondary school which has been newly established for the purpose, is a completely new type of second-

ary school of co-education, and has considerable freedom in developing a programme in terms of modern aims of education. There have been wide-spread movements among the elementary and secondary school teachers for the study of philosophy of the new education, and for the revision of curriculum and teaching method.

In spite of the heavy financial burden, the establishment of new upper secondary schools was carried out by every prefectural and local community. The establishment of new upper secondary schools merged all of the existing schools into one system. Formerly there were on this level boys' middle schools, girls' high schools, youth schools, and diverse types of vocational schools, all with distinct curricula for their own and none having any structural or curricular relationship with any of the others. Under the new system there is one upper secondary school system which may vary greatly in curricular type, but all offer the same 38-units national curriculum and require 85-units for graduation. Moreover strong emphasis was placed on the comprehensive school pattern so that in each local community the needs of both boys and girls, might be met in the total organization of a community's school, instead of causing many to go out of their communities to get the kind of education they desired. Equal educational opportunity for boys and girls, and equal facilities for each community was the basic principle adopted in the reorganization.

## 2. *Reorganization of Higher Education*

National prefectural and municipal higher institutions as well as private institutions have also been reorganized by the 6-3-3-4 pattern. In the pre-war period every prefecture had higher institutions of various types under national or public (prefectural or municipal) control, including universities, colleges, and teacher training institutions. These institutions in any given prefecture varied in curricula, in academic standards and were independent of each other. A wide-range consolidation plan of these institutions toward four-year universities provided wider educational opportunities. Especially, normal schools were transformed and consolidated into four-year universities, having made a significant improvement of teacher education. At the same time revision of university curriculum was carried out in line with the new conception of professional training, putting emphasis upon liberalization instead of rigid specialization of curricula. Junior colleges, as two and three-years institutions, offer semi-professional education. On the other hand, post-graduate courses or graduate schools and research institutes have been developed for the highly specialized study of various fields.

### 3. *Summary of Status*

The following table shows a statistical summary of status of the school system on 1st, May 1953.

	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	STUDENTS
Higher Education			
national and public	190	26,571	218,824
private	350	19,574	317,263
Upper Secondary			
national and public	2,324	88,696	2,034,157
private	885	16,620	493,843
Lower Secondary			
national and public	11,788	178,595	5,011,691
private	855	16,620	493,843
Elementary Schools			
national and public	21,611	322,157	11,148,176
private	124	1,205	32,354
Kindergartens			
national and public	1,322	5,193	213,882
private	2,104	11,603	305,868
Special Schools			
national and public	162	4,184	23,823
private	8	83	489
Miscellaneous			
national and public	352	930	20,468
private	5,536	22,454	783,242

### 4. *Problems Concerning the Newly Organized School System*

The reorganization of the whole school system and the improvement of the contents of teaching at each level were planned in line with the general principle of democracy in the belief in and the expectation of reformative functions which powerfully organized school system can offer. Since the modernization of schools, however, went ahead of the actual change of social life and culture, there appear and remain various problems and controversial situations.

a. A deeply rooted impression among the public that schools can offer opportunities for the improvement of socio-economic status has strongly stimulated the desire of parents and the young to utilize more opportunity for education. Even in the pre-war period the elementary school continued to hold more than 99 per cent of total population of that school age, and in the post-war period, in spite of the disastrous social condition, the lower secondary school enrollment came up to the same rate. Reorganization of the upper secondary school system also has greatly extended opportunities for continuing education. Actually in 1954, 51 per cent of total population of school age were in attendance in the upper secondary courses either full-time or part-time. The social trend caused, on the other hand, an increased emula-

tion<sup>2</sup> toward college entrance, and a solicitude has been felt that the situation might enforce schools to come back to the old college entrance tradition, taking their freedom away in developing a programme in terms of modern aims of education. The severe emulation for college entrance come mainly out of the fact that applicants are apt to crowd on such particular colleges as are supposed to ensure the advantageous chance of finding employments. Considering the principle of equal opportunity for education and the social need, it has been one of the most difficult problems of the school system to establish kinds of successful relationship between secondary and higher education.

To admit extremely increased applicants the number of existing college and universities may not be enough. There began to appear, however, criticism regarding the number of colleges and universities and appeals for more reasonable organization of faculties, courses, and curricula, made by persons who felt the present difficult situation of the employment of college graduates and financial burdens of supporting many institutions of higher education.

b. Both the philosophy of democratic education and actual needs for social, economic reconstruction of the new Japan demands an effective programme of vocational education. At the prefectural and local community levels, increasing attention is being paid to providing vocational education in the upper secondary schools of the comprehensive type. Vocational schools which were formerly distinct from the regular secondary schools, are now fully accredited at the same level as academic-type schools. As the reorganization of vocational schools went ahead of social and cultural change, there still remains a deep-rooted attitude of making light of the vocational contents of the education. Of the upper secondary school graduates who go into business each year, more than 50% are graduates from the college preparatory course. Boys and girls do not like to be in the vocational course. In fact most of vocational school or courses still remain in an inferior situation not only in teaching staff, equipments and buildings, but in social estimation. Subjects concerning vocational education and homemaking are apt to be ignored in many schools. It may be said that the vocational factors, which from the point of view of democratic education are most important, have not yet received enough attention from the public.

c. Professional qualifications have been provided for employment of teachers and principals of all sorts of schools, and of superintendents and teacher consultants of boards of education. The improvement of qualified educational personnel for schools has been hampered by the lack of facilities and budgets for in-service and pre-service train-



ing. As a result, however, of earnest execution of in-service training in each prefectural and local school system, and of the increased number of college graduates entering teaching professions, the situation is being improved. It has been improved especially in the city areas and in economically favoured prefectures, increasing their distinction from the rural areas and poor prefectures. In addition to such regional unbalance there also can be seen among teaching fields a scarcity of qualified teachers of vocational subjects and in the schools for handicapped children. To maintain enough quality and quantity is really one of the largest problems in educational as well as social planning and even distribution of teaching personnel amounting to six hundred and thirty thousand other than that of college level.

*d.* A criticism has arisen especially regarding the revision of the content and method of teaching at the elementary and secondary level. Parents came to think that boys and girls are being developed in their social attitudes and habits in terms of democratic way of living, but not in the essential subjects. The problems seem to have its main causes in the following facts:

*a.* transient inadequacy of division of functions of administrative agencies at each level regarding the curriculum building,

*b.* lack of professional leadership, experience of scientific research, and technique of reorganization of curriculum on the part of prefectural and local administrative units,

*c.* unskilled teaching done by teachers who had been accustomed to relying upon direction from above.

### III. EXTENDING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY TO WORKING YOUTH

The realization of the modern social principle of equalization of educational opportunity in Japan has come to the stage that people are considering seriously the education of the working youth.

#### 1. *Part-time Programme for the Working Youth*

In view of the large number of pupils who do not continue full-time schooling upon completion of the compulsory education, part-time education is an important phase of educational opportunity. This programme is being promoted through part-time upper secondary schools, apprenticeship training, schools within industry, and correspondence courses. As full-time secondary schools are limited to cities and the larger towns, branch part-time schools, organized around a full-time school, offer the programme of study for the working youth in rural areas, applying the unit credit system on the same basis as full-time schools.

## 2. *Social Aspects of Difficulties Encountered*

a. One of the most important problems which hampers the development of the education of working youth is the very small enrollment in each institute. The traditional attitude of society to maintain class and group distinctions between part-time and full-time school graduates, indifference on the part of employers to education of the youth, and the lack of substantial financial support of the public to the institutes have especially to be remedied.

b. Since traditional forms of schooling were not established for the working youth, there should be fundamental revision both of content and methods of teaching so as to adjust them to the actual needs of the working youth.

## IV. DEVELOPMENT IN PROVISION OF TEACHING MATERIALS

### 1. *Establishment of New Provisions for Textbook Publication and Development of Other Teaching Materials*

The reorganization of new courses of study called for a new organization of textbook materials. The new procedures of textbook publication have been established on the basic idea that textbooks, could be compiled so as to meet the needs of the individual child and the local community only through wide participation by the teachers of every school level. There has been great development of the school library and of audio-visual materials in every local unit. Interest in films, film strips and radio programmes have increased especially, among teachers, who want to make the most of their new educational freedom.

### 2. *Problems Regarding Provision of Teaching Materials*

New textbooks, films, and other teaching materials are not always sufficient in stimulating the progressive classroom procedures. School libraries in many cases are set apart from the school programme and no time for use of the library, except after school hours, is scheduled as a part of the school programme. These are some indications of the problems remaining behind the apparent improvement of the situation. The most important point is that both agencies which produce these materials, and schools have not yet developed the necessary educational techniques to provide teaching materials in line with new courses of study.

## V. SUMMARY

When Japan in 1872 established her national system of education based on the nineteenth century western pattern it was really a symptom of the dawning of the epoch-making progress of Japanese

society from the feudalistic stage to the modern, not only in educational, but in political, economic, cultural and all social fields. The reorganization of education in the post-war period had the same meaning to Japanese society as it had in 1872. The Fundamental Law of Education in 1947 declares that the purpose of education in new Japan is "to aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of the people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual values, respect labor, have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful society and state."

To fulfill the purpose there have been continued and various endeavours in many fields of society. There can be seen, however, some social tension between the "new education" and the public; other internal problems have also appeared. Such a situation will work, we believe, as an active factor in producing a more rational development. A successful fulfillment can be expected, as the Japanese people have already accomplished in modern history a similarly great educational reorganization.

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*is this  
written in English?*

#### **A NOTE ON SOCIAL CHANGE AND EDUCATION: THE STUDY OF VALUES**

**Ernest Beaglehole**

EDITORIAL NOTE: The following has been excerpted from the January 1956 issue of Unesco's quarterly bulletin *Fundamental and Adult Education*. It follows a longer article by Professor Margaret Read which appeared in the April and July 1955 issues of this review, to which the reader is referred. These notes of Dr. Beaglehole seemed sufficiently germane to the theme of this issue and self-contained to be worth reproducing here.

In her analysis of the contribution of social anthropology to the tasks of fundamental education in underdeveloped territories Dr. Margaret Read remarks upon the differential "openness" to social change that may mark off one society from another. "It is clear," she writes (7, p. 99), "that in roughly similar situations of culture change due to external contacts some social systems can take the strain and others break down under it." Since a major task of the social anthropologist seems rightly to be that of helping not only the educationist guide change and helping people in underdeveloped societies change themselves with minimum stress and strain, it is probable that an

important area for collaborative study by both anthropologist and educationist is to be found in analysing why some societies face change with relative ease, others with great difficulty.

One clue mentioned by Dr. Read is to be found in the nature of the process of child socialization. Where there is effective family solidarity, there will be a firm and stable system of child rearing with consequential strengths and resistance in the culture contact situation. No one can deny that family solidarity and cohesiveness are basic to social stability. Yet the question arises as to why one form of family is more stable than another. If fundamental education is to succeed, people—adults and children alike—must learn new ways and a new outlook, new work habits and new evaluations of what is worthwhile in health or economic production. Too much family stability may block social change just as too little may produce social and personal disorganization. The educationist may well ask of the social anthropologist therefore: what is the key understanding that I should have in order to be able to predict, even with only rough approximation, the response of an underdeveloped group to new educational plans and programmes? At the risk of appearing unduly dogmatic it may be suggested that the study of the value systems of a peasant community may offer more immediate enlightenment than the study of other aspects of social life. This suggestion by no means denies the significance of a thorough knowledge of social structure and social organization. Indeed one may often have to infer the existence and nature of a value system from the facts of structure and organization. Where time and finance are limited however it is probable that concentrated field work directed towards a description and analysis of the values of a people may prove to be the most rewarding way in which the anthropologist can serve the needs of fundamental education.

There is nothing particularly esoteric about the concept of values or value-attitudes. Expressing the meaning of the term in its most simple form, one may say that in all the situational dilemmas that face human beings everywhere different social groups have chosen preferred ways of solving these dilemmas. People operate with unconscious canons of choice, as Sapir long ago happily remarked. Value-attitudes therefore suffuse every social action. In their most inclusive form they may be summarized under some such catchword as the "American way of life" and then broken down, as Lynd has indicated, into Middletown's twelve most important guides to action and belief. In another context, Vogt and O'Dea (9) show that when dealing with what might be regarded as social incidents in the life of two communities—some trivial, some serious—whether and how to organize the building of a school gymnasium, for example, or the

gravelling of dirt roads, the choice of a land tenure system, the holding of community dances—it is the value system of the communities concerned that provides the key to understanding social action, not ecology or economics or history.

The values of a peasant society are usually reasonably well integrated and organized. They constitute a value-attitude system that in the lives of the individuals making up the society can be thought of as, mirror-wise, the modal personality of the group. Anthropologists and psychologists have lately devoted a good deal of attention to ways of analysing and conceptualizing the nature of this modal personality—in more complex civilizations it is often spoken of as the national character of a country (Inkeles and Levinson 4). The point would seem to be that whether one studies value systems or modal personalities one is dealing with the basic factors that affect social change. A Mormon community in New Mexico will not change easily, if at all, when appeals are made to the individual independence and initiative of members of the community. Similarly the Texan homesteaders will not change if community co-operation is made the basis of policy.

Naturally the problems of social change are much more complex than may have been implied. Social change is not simply a matter of identifying the key values of a community and then "tailoring" a programme to secure the maximum response from people with given value-attitudes. However it is always advisable to know the value-system of any community for which a programme of change is planned. The field study of values is a technical study that usually requires the skills of a specially trained anthropologist using intensive interviews, questionnaire schedules and projective tests. In a much more informal fashion reliable information can be gained by an educationist who realizes that if the beginning of wisdom is to know what questions to ask, wisdom itself consists in realizing what the answers mean. Short guides to the kinds of simple investigations that bring rewarding answers are to be found in Keesing (5) and in a Unesco report on evaluation procedures (Beaglehole, 2).

There appear to be some cases in the records where because of congruence between the peasant values and those implicit in western technology, change is relatively easy (Beaglehole, 1). But in other cases people may wish to adopt new practices but be unaware that the new practices mean value-shifts in their outlook on life (a factory system may mean, for instance, neglect of agriculture or new attitudes to time and other new work rhythms and responsibilities). It is when the necessity for such shifts becomes apparent that resistances to further change become explicit, or the whole process of social change slows down.



Again, initial change may come from those persons in the community who are most atypical in regard to community values. Rapoport (6) is able to demonstrate that conversion to Christianity is more likely to occur among those Navaho who are psychologically and socially disenfranchised in their own culture (those who suffer from excessive anxiety or guilt, for instance, or fear easy sociability with fellow tribesmen or have a need to be dependent upon whites). The fact that the disenfranchised and their kinsmen are prepared to change may make it more difficult for others to follow their example. A good deal will depend upon the kinds of pressure that the culture contact situation generates and the effects of these pressures (subjectively interpreted perhaps as punishments and rewards) upon persons conforming to a greater or less degree with the modal personality of the group. The scientists' picture of what brings about attitude change is at the moment rather confused, but enough is known to suggest that advances in theory will have relevance for all those involved in social change projects (Sarnoff and Katz, 8).

After all that has been said it may seem paradoxical to suggest that social change can apparently occur without undue stress when the value systems of the two peoples in contact are almost contradictory. Caudill (3) has shown however that Japanese-Americans have been able to make a satisfactory adjustment to lower-middle-class life in Chicago even though basic Japanese values are very different from those of Americans, for the probable reason that disparate value systems (or modal personalities) may express themselves in social actions sufficiently similar in the two cultures to make possible common understandings and co-operative activities. Though the anthropologist and the psychologist may be at present only at the threshold of the study of social change (each problem as it is solved seems to open up more complex problems) nonetheless their co-operation in field study already seems to be providing new understandings of how and why people change or resist change. Since the educationist is vitally interested at a practical level in this question of resistances, much will come from the combination of practical insight and theory. The study of values is likely to be the social problem in which co-operation promises the maximum returns whether judged by the criterion of practical results or of new theoretical formulations.

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